

/224 cont./

476 of the date work will begin and asks for their co-operation.

Meanwhile at his house abundant food is prepared for the occasion and drink in considerable quantity: chicha made from chewed wild yucca or from corn. And each Indian who decides to lend a hand brings the tools required for the job and arrives at sunrise.

At night he returns to his dwelling after working all day, generally drunk from the great quantity of chicha or rum which he has drunk.

This cycle repeats itself daily during all the time necessary to finish the work. The owner of the house, or one of the volunteers of most experience, assumes direction of all the activities and gives orders which are quickly carried out. We will take as an

476 example the case of the construction of a dwelling. For this,

• 342 necessary plant materials are located beforehand in the woods of the clan property or in wasteland, and the services of an individual

824 acquainted with the method of housebuilding is also secured beforehand and the work carried out under his direction. The according to the ability of each of the workers, tasks are distributed; some prepare yotojoro (1), which is the roofing material; some

1. The woody part of the cactus called cardón.

lay the roof while others cover the walls with the bark of the trupillo /Mimosaceae family/, with grass stems, or with bahareque /small sticks with canes and clay, sometimes also called bareque/, according to the region or taste /of the owner/. In this way /225/ the work is finished in a short time. By the same procedure the excavation of a well or the building of a dam for rain water is carried out.

476 When it is a matter of preparing ground for sowing or any other agricultural work, the activity is carried out in an identical manner. Some go to give their services to a friend so that once they have finished work on his agricultural land, the friend will

[626] immediately reciprocate by lending his assistance on their land. The Guajiro keeps very much in mind the person who refuses to

GOAJIRA PENINSULA, U.A. OF COLOMBIA.

787

in an Appendix. With the exception of the Jirunas or Piesles, a small tribe of 300 souls all told living in the valley of Macaira between Ara-ura and Itajero, the Guarirites, a mere handful of Indians under the protectorate of the Jirun, the Sijuanas, Soomanas, Arapainaydes, Siamurinas, Arsurajunas, and the Arpusaitas, all small local tribes, strictly confined to the upper country or east of Cabo de la Vela, the other castes are distributed throughout the breadth and width of the land in the greatest confusion. Living as the Goajiro does, in continual strife and warfare, whole families would speedily become poor or extinct, if they did not take the precaution to separate their wealth and herds, and only keep a few in one place at a time. Scarcity of water and pasture compels them to lead a nomadic life, and makes house-building out of the question, for they are eternally changing abode, now in the upper Goajira and then in the lower or plains. Some branches among the castes have, in spite of their roving propensities, predispositions for certain spots. For example, the proud and wealthy Pushainas are chiefly found round and about Parahi and Ataija. Urianas tiger frequent Tarco and Bahia Honda a great deal, while near Portoto, Ipanas and Epinayues abound. In the neighbourhood of Anipana the Ipanas and Jusayues are in great force; at the Tota nearly all are Jusayues, and near Las Guardias at Guarero, Sapuanas; these three latter are mostly all Cocinas Indians. With respect to these terrible Cocinas, the word in Goajira signifies robber, highwayman, or outlaw. They are neither a tribe nor even a separate caste as many have supposed, but simply a band of freebooters—Indians that, for quarrels, murder, thefts, &c., have been expelled the family, and must needs take to pillaging to earn a livelihood. For self-defence, and to better ply their nefarious calling, they are banded together with recognised chiefs, and so are able to go on their marauding expeditions in great force, pouncing on any less numerous or unprepared party, to strip them of everything. One party of Cocinas will rob another if they can. Nearly all the Goajiros have relations among them, but an Indian is only safe with that band to which his relation belongs. They have commercial intercourse with them, and often succeed in getting stolen cattle back. The Cocinas' territory *par excellence* is the Cojoro range of hills, taking in the Tota, traversing the plains in a narrow band, and occupying the Montes of Oca as a refuge while scouring the plains. The country as far east as the Macaira range is not exempt from their depredations, especially between Olapana and the Laguna of Tucucas. The principal Cocina chiefs are Alyeshipara or Yorajama, as he frequently is called, an Uriana, and rules the country about Anipana and Yuripicho—he is the worst and most feared of the lot; Porón, an Arpusaina, another devil—he has appropriated the district of Cojoro; Mamain, a Jomayá, holds it all about the Tota; and Morcillo, a Majumana, is chief of the country about Las Guardias. Once the terror of the plains, this wild beast has

579 been completely tamed by the Venesolana. He, with of course his
648 followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to breeding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

- 342 The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impermeable to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles [513] (tehepi) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (palémalor) [417] are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being 361 displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other 621 without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody bolsters himself with that inghear of Goajira society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is [712] invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescuer, as the case may be. At all events the [552] avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos [423] spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are 103 well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riachacha 443 trading with the Indians. In the Macaira rango, six miles from Punta Espada, is Guarorjá, at the foot of Ara-ura; chief, Caijuna, a Jimu. 592 Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chémunao; chief, José Agustín, a 621 Jallariá, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujora, Magnaipá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliara, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riachacheros resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epioyn, but his sister Mauricla is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahía Honda or Tarua is Merunay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riachacheros established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macaira and Parashí. The chief, Salpa, is Epioyn. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajira, and is surrounded by several important places; it is probably

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By the shore. Held by father and sister, these were the only twins we ever saw. The Guajiro let twins live

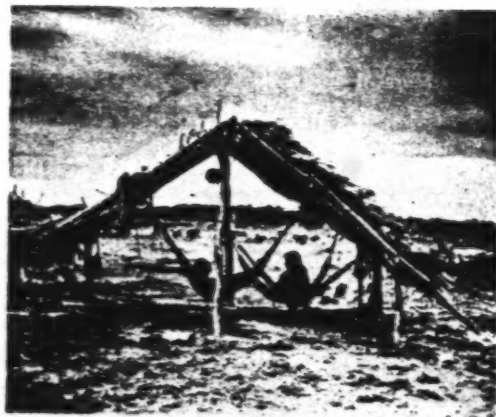


Right: Indian girls

342

513

352 *A simple Indian hut*



[Facing p. 32]

115 And her eyes shone at the recollection of the now for-
685 bidden pleasures of her girlhood.

124 When I went on trips in the surrounding country I
usually had Francisco with me and often my wife. Anita
had then to be ready to feed us when we came home,
whether it were the same day, or the next, or three days
later. In such things Indian women have patience. They
know how to wait, and they are never surprised.

124 We began our exploration of the brown hills and green
valleys of Maculra with a long trip on foot. Laboriously
556 we waded through the fine sand. This is almost firm when
it is damp, but it was then the dry season and the sand was
loose. We were going to visit relatives of Francisco, simple
people, but not actually poor. To us who had already had a
certain amount to do with Indians, it was a surprise to find
ourselves dealing in such categories as 'rich', 'poor', 'well-
to-do', etc., just as though we were concerned with white
people. Among all other Indians the difference in economic
status between individuals had been relatively insignificant,
as, presumably, it had been among the GaaJiro before they
took to herding cattle.

133 The Indians we were to visit lived in a beautiful place,
just on the fringe of a watered valley between purple brown
heights, with the peak of Ituhor dominating the landscape.
The valley was like a green Bengal fire against its parched
●342 background. There were two huts, built of cactus wood and
with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed
and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the
wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In
front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the
fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and
erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can
sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils
and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals.
[40] Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles
stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the
all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these
there were dark patches on the ground.

123 Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-
352

INDISCREET INVESTIGATION

77

I have had to anticipate to tell how the secret of the arrows' effect was discovered. Let me now go back to where we were sitting on our stools talking with the Indians. It was late in the day and Francisco suggested that we should stay the night and go on at daybreak to another place where lived some prosperous Indians who had many materials and earthenware vessels. They had hammocks that we could borrow. It was a good suggestion and our hosts were more than agreeable. They wanted to vacate one of their huts, but we preferred to sleep in one of their open sheds. It was cool and, being tired, we fell asleep while the Indians were still sitting round the fire. 574

We were awakened by plaintive singing. It was still night. The Guajiro are excessively early risers. In the tropics you become accustomed to getting up at daybreak, but there on the peninsula everybody woke at three o'clock, when there were still a couple of hours of darkness left. Three o'clock was even a suitable visiting-hour. They liked to take advantage of the coolest part of the day, which was from three to six in the morning. The singing came from the big hut beside us. It was followed by a spoken rigmarole. The whole was as dreary as a funeral mass, and the voice was an old woman's. I discovered that it was a sort of pagan morning prayer for the children, used all over Guajira, in which an old woman recalled the memory of departed relations. If any of these had been killed and left unavenged, she would not neglect to remind the children of the fact and point out the guilty person. It ended with yet another wailing song. 765
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What the old woman told them about their ancestors and injuries received was impressed upon the children's minds by hearing it repeated every morning in this way. [628] Thus is a blood feud perpetuated from generation to generation.

We made ourselves porridge and took our departure as day was breaking. Then we tramped on through the sand to the next rancheria. There only the women were at home, but as it is the women who make the things we wished to see, that suited us quite well. The huts were larger than 123
342

- 342 those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks
 [352] slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets
 [415] filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered
 [177] about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels
 were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and
 handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur
 jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners
 from the Dutch islands came.

- 445 Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration.
 531 Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the
 oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but
 there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven
 286 cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung
 [171] vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a
 lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak
 family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished,
 it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

- They were working on a man's belt or sash. The every-
 day belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes in-
 tended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen
 inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow,
 black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting.
 Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as
 colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able
 to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too
 [764] expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom
 [627] decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when
 [551] they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's
 everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them
 291 on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared.
 The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was
 a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and
 [386] arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff
 from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible
 when they were working in the shade or indoors and
 removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They
 themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice
 patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had
 patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

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● 342
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A chichamaya in full swing



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First burial. The dead person's bier is being carried out from its shelter



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The after-burial. A medicine man guarding the urns containing the dead person's bones



[Facing p. 96]

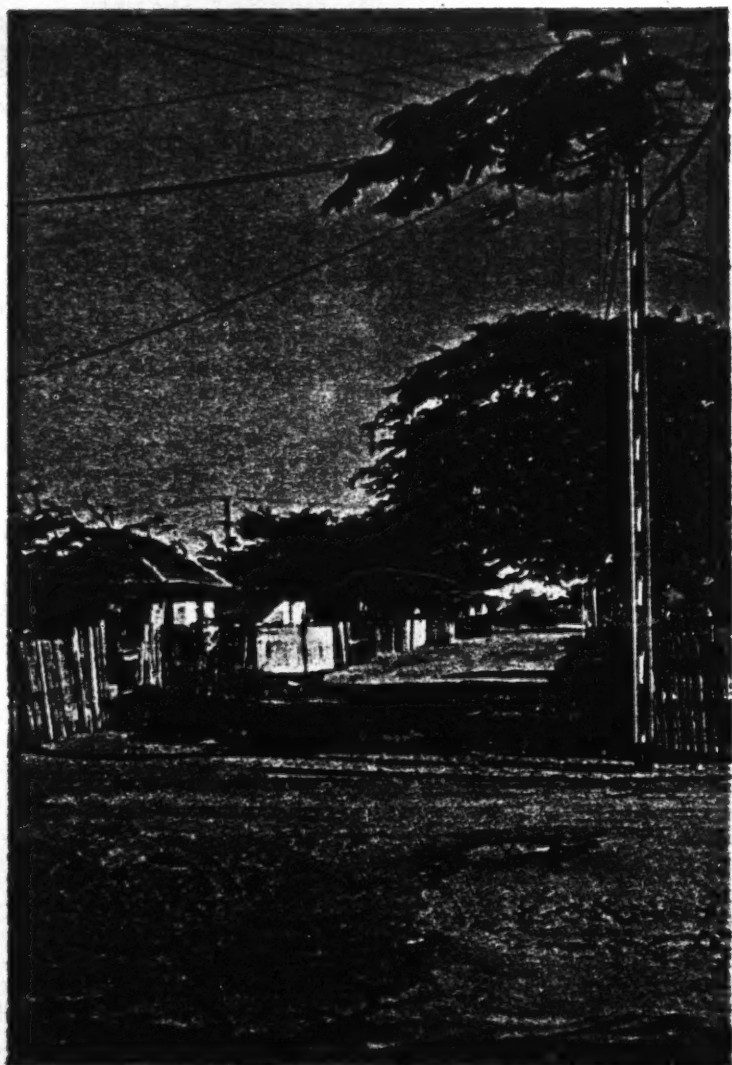
7: Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957

SC13 Goajiro SC13

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The Guajiro town at Maracaibo

[Facing p. 136]

7: Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957

SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Guajiro Indians in the leafy south. One is painted

Below: *The Indians' Venice*

● 342
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[Facing p. 161]

7: Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
 SC13 Goajiro SC13

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*Pile-dwellings
 with a kitchen
 garden*



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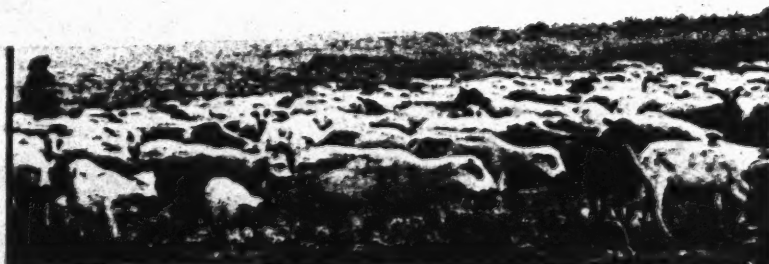
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*Indians wait patiently while
 the leader of the expedition
 sleeps in his hammock*



*Below: Flock being driven
 over the steppe*

231



[Facing p. 176]

the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22
fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231
consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221
seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where
the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, [512]
where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, bottom, 231
left), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever
they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats,
20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure [556]
of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize [439]
the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for
textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual [422]
round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races
and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are [527]
consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262
milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252
and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is
supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last
three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for
skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall
poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for
sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a cala-
bash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed
milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese
press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 614
sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 361
(Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which
occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses
(ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within
gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks
would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus
hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 342
are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles.
Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough [552]
tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The ham-
mock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner [581]
of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

372

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

(B.A.E. Bull. 148)

342 When mi-
487

grating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 *Goajiro* dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, top); but when traveling, [424] paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both [301] shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to [561] the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used [384] for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the [881] puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

301 Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is [306] preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and [401] are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized orna- [172] ments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

302 The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against [756] mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from [396] rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their [684] hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on

343

343 OUTBUILDINGS--description of domestic nonresidential buildings (e.g., cook-houses, latrines, menstrual lodges, bathhouses, granaries, barns, stables); special characteristics of each; construction; etc. See also:

Stables and malls	231	Latrines	514
Cookhouses	252	Bathhouses	515
Bathhouses	504	Menstrual lodges	541

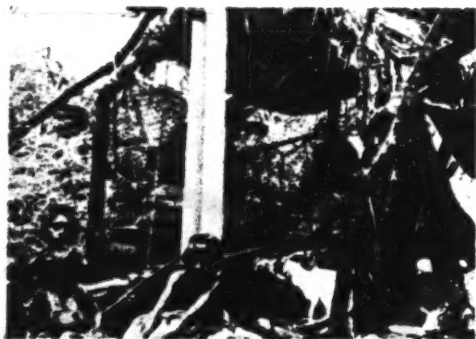
7: Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957

SC13 Goajiro SC13

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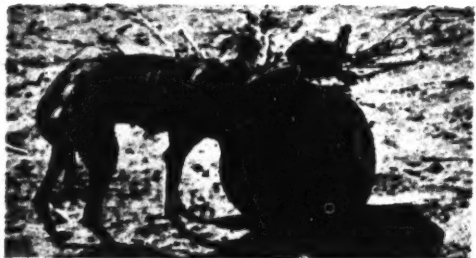
343



*Work-hut with warp set up
for a man's sash*

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415



*The thin Indian dogs licked
the last out of the pot*

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492



*Below: Indian chiefs, in
ceremonial clothes, on their
way to a purchi*

[Encing p.81]

7: Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957

SC13 Goajiro SC13

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*Pile-dwellings
with a kitchen
garden*



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● 343

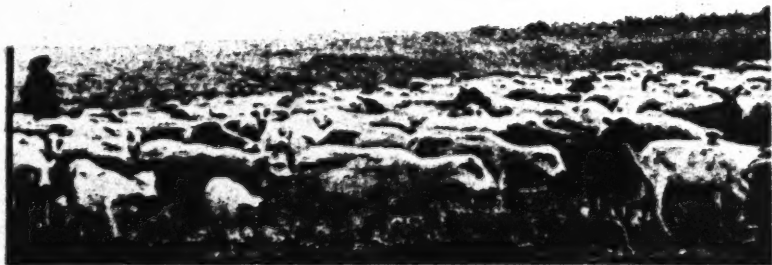
516

*Indians wait patiently while
the leader of the expedition
sleeps in his hammock*



*Below: Flock being driven
over the steppe*

231



[facing p. 176]

352

352 FURNITURE--pegs, racks, shelves, and cupboards; description of furniture (e. g., chairs, tables, chests, beds, hammocks, head-rests); floor covering (e. g., mats, rugs); special uses of furniture; etc. See also:

Mat making	285	Hardware	414
Furniture manufacture	392	Bedding	513

/48 cont./

252 at the heart, which they eat, for by cooking in this way it be-
262 comes soft and digestible. They also include in their diet soups
and special dishes made of beans.

264 The boys employed in work other than pasturing, who stay
262 at home or can readily return there, take the usual breakfast
upon rising; later, when the hours of heat begin and the Guajiro
returns to his home to rest on his hammock in the shade of his
enramada /a bough-covered shelter/, he eats a meal which is
more or less similar to that described above, and, toward seven
at night, another.

A boy will add to his usual meals what he can find by pick-
ing wild fruit, hunting small animals or birds, by stealing food
at home, and by drinking the milk he can obtain from the goats
or other animals he has in his care.

264 We must add in conclusion that in no case does the woman
occupy the first place when food is being served if there are men
in the family. At the most she may occupy her mother's place
if no older female relatives are present, it falling on her in
this case to serve the food. If there are female slaves or bond
servants or maids in the home these will carry out this duty
under her supervision. These cases when the mother is replaced
by the daughters in the task of serving the meals to the family
are not frequent, as it is customary for the head woman not to
leave her post for any lengthy interval without placing her re-
sponsibilities in the hands of a person competent to replace her.

* * *

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● [352] The child of middle years keeps the same hours for sleep-
[483] ing as the adult. Generally, the child possesses from his birth
onward an Indian-style hammock /chinchorro or hamaca/ /49/.
that is to say, one made of cords of twisted agave fibers arranged
in horizontal rows. This type of hammock is meant for young
children, because bed-wetting at night is frequent in some cases,
but especially because it is strong, cheap, and readily replace-
able. We never heard of a case of a child sleeping on the ground.

[18 cont.]

*156 to bring on lactation, to gain weight, etc., are partly public
755 knowledge and partly privately known by a few families who tra-
[208] ditionally preserve the secret of their use for their personal benefit.

847 By what has been previously stated we see how the ceremony of healing is a perpetual invocation of the spirit, a continual fear that it might withdraw its aid for whatever motive, and a perennial anxiety to satisfy its slightest wish in order to obtain the success sought. To give evidence for this we shall see how the Guajiro shaman effects a cure when he has been called in to handle one.

[431] First of all, before he initiates such activities, he demands a gift. For this reason whenever a native needs the services of the shaman for magico-medical attention for some relative, he goes to present himself to the shaman with a gold necklace or some other valuable present.

171 Each time the shaman goes to cure a sick person he takes
*756 with him two maracas. This custom is rather widespread in
755 South America, where the magic power of the maraca appears to be extraordinary and is commonly accepted, although with some variations from tribe to tribe whether in the [19] quality of its different parts, in the artifacts adornment, in the manner of using it, etc. To corroborate this it is sufficient to quote Professor Métraux again, who says, in reference to the apprentice shaman: "During his initiation the novice learns to make use of the accessories indispensable to the magic art. The most important of all, that which in some manner symbolizes the profession is the maraca or rattle made from a calabash containing some seeds or pebbles and provided with a handle." (15) [Cited in French.]

15. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 217.

[352] The medicine man accommodates himself in a seat especially reserved for such occasions and carved in wood in the form of an animal, but if such an artifact is lacking, he will use any convenient seat. The custom of using a seat of this type is also found in the Guianas. "The wooden seat is an equally indispensable accessory for the shaman of the Guianas. It is often carved in the form of a jaguar, an animal that plays an important part in the

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[854
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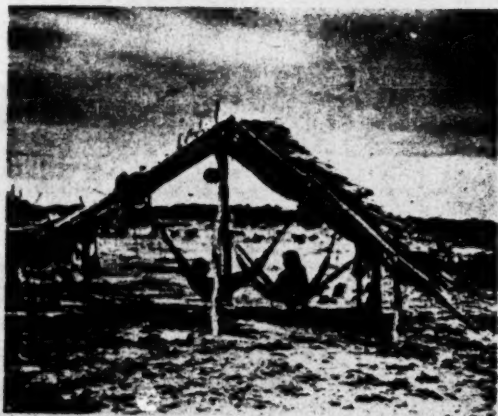
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342
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with roofs of the same material. They were saddle-backed
and linked by a wall, which acted as a shield against the
wind, that there always blows in the same direction. In
front of this wall, that is between the two houses, were the
fires. Round about were shelves covered with grass and
erected on four poles. The Creoles call these *trojas*. You can
sit under them and be out of the sun, and cooking utensils
and stores can be kept on them out of reach of animals.
[40] Here and there were hammocks stretched between poles
stuck in the ground, and there were other poles used in the
all but daily butchering of a goat or sheep. Round these
there were dark patches on the ground.

133 Having Francisco with us we were naturally well re-
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INDISCREET INVESTIGATION

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ceived. They brought out stools carved with animals' heads and tails for us to sit on, and then four young men hastened to entertain us with music. I had happened to ask about musical instruments and it appeared that we had come to a musical family. They all played the flute, which there was usually small, of reed or wood, and ornamented with carved figures. There was also a larger flute which had a mouthpiece and reed, like a child's trumpet, and a calabash at the other end. This instrument buzzed and droned like a bumble-bee. It was extraordinary. It did not seem a South American instrument at all. In fact, it was quite simply an offshoot of the eastern snake-charmer's flute, which I had seen in Morocco. How had it got to America? Perhaps through the Moors. The early Spanish discoverers had Moorish slaves and servants with them, and, as we shall see, this flute was not the only indication of Moorish influence.

Guajira is often called the Arabia of South America, because it too is an arid peninsula with a population largely consisting of nomad herdsmen. In the distance a Guajiro caravan looks thoroughly eastern, and who knows from whom the Guajiros' forefathers acquired their knowledge of how to ride and to rear cattle?

Not wishing to spoil the concert, I said nothing of all this. I myself am quite unmusical, but my wife gave the performers full marks. The pieces had names that suited the setting: 'The Little Goat seeks its Mother', 'The Horses are driven Home', 'By the rippling Water'. The four also sang. To European ears their singing was considerably less attractive than the music, but the words were often poetical and lovely. 'The little goat laments and says: the water that I drink is salt and salt are the plants I have to eat. And just as it begins to drizzle, the little goat's salt tears fall along with the other drops upon the salt ground.' In that perhaps was a little too much salt, but it was typically Guajiran. Even a goat can get too much of what others seek so avidly elsewhere.

They showed us other musical instruments: a drum that was played for dancing and a whistle made of calabash, intended for signalling. One of the four also produced a

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342 those we had left, but just as simple. Inside were hammocks
 [352] slung this way and that. Along the walls were carrying-nets
 [415] filled with things, and earthenware vessels lay scattered
 [177] about the floor of hard-trodden sand. Some of these vessels
 were grey, others reddish-brown, some had necks and
 handles. One was an obvious imitation of a Dutch liqueur
 jar. It was not far to Puerto Estrella, to which schooners
 from the Dutch islands came.

415 Most of the earthenware vessels had red decoration.
 531 Some, with wavering lines, were obviously the work of the
 oldest of the women, who was frail and almost blind; but
 there was no fault in the shape of the vessel. The woven
 286 cloths were hung up in a special shelter. The warp hung
 [177] vertical and ran like an endless belt over an upper and a
 lower pole. Several related tribes, members of the Aruak
 family, use the same method. When the cloth is finished,
 it forms a ring, and is then cut up.

They were working on a man's belt or sash. The every-
 day belt was only a couple of inches wide, but sashes in-
 tended for more solemn occasions were some eighteen
 inches broad and very colourful. They used red, yellow,
 black and white yarn and the pattern was most interesting.
 Ceremonial cloaks are also woven for the men, just as
 colourful as the sashes, but, to my sorrow, I was never able
 to acquire a really fine specimen. They were simply too
 [764] expensive. The rich chiefs collected them, but custom
 [622] decreed that they must be wrapped in all their cloaks when
 [556] they died, which meant that none were inherited. The men's
 everyday cloaks I have already described; they pulled them
 291 on and then twisted them so that their chest was bared.

The women's dress was considerably more Spartan: it was
 a wide tunic, made like a sack with holes for the head and
 [386] arms, and dyed black with divi-divi or brown with stuff
 from some other plant. Their loin-cloth only became visible
 when they were working in the shade or indoors and
 removed their tunics. It too was black or undyed. They
 themselves thought that there was no call to use a nice
 patterned cloth for underclothes. Little girls often had
 patterned loin-cloths, but then they did not wear tunics

CONJURATION OF SPIRITS

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been confirmed by sooth-sayer and piache. The person selected must learn the profession and practise it. Otherwise, certain death awaits him, for the spirit will not suffer his decisions to be neglected. 756
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Often parents cannot afford to send for a piache, for those who convey the request have to give him a necklace of gold beads. This may mean that the novice's family has to ask well-to-do relatives to pay the fee. When he arrives, the piache examines the candidate and stuffs some manilla into his or her mouth. When he sees that it is beginning to take effect, he intones a monotonous song. As soon as he stops, the novice must proclaim his desire to become a piache and have it granted. He is selected by the spirit, but he does not yet know anything. The apprenticeship then begins. [402]

The piache shuts himself into a suitable hut together with the novice, and there they must stay, hidden from the world, for a month or more. The apprentice is not supposed to be seen by anyone during this time. No one may go in and interrupt the seance. The piache sits on his stool of light wood shaped like an animal. He wears a head-dress made of wool and places a similar one on the novice's head. He then begins singing songs, swinging rattles and making all the gestures, movements and conjurations that he uses to call upon and move the spirits. His instruction continues day after day, sometimes by night as well. He has to keep to a certain diet. Roast maize in particular is usually prescribed. [352] 756
[262]

Now and again spirits appear and talk with the novice, encouraging him, not least by expounding how great are the advantages of being a piache, and how rich the presents he receives.

One day the spirit announces that the first period of instruction is over and the novice ready for examination. This is an intermediary examination, for the instruction is not complete. So far it has only included spells and magical songs, and the novice has no knowledge of herbs and poisons. (Knowledge of medicinal herbs is common to all by family tradition.) The songs, gestures and spells have been repeated till the novice knows them all perfectly. [824]

the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch 22 fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, 231 consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they 221 seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where 512 the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, bottom, 231 left), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure 557 of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize 537 the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual 522 round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races 527 and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and 262 milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, 252 and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 614 sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area 361 (Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherias, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings 342 are mere lean-to, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough 552 tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner 557 of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-